Historical Papers
Communications historiques

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Volume 8, numéro 1, 1973

Kingston 1973

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/030763ar
DOI : https://doi.org/10.7202/030763ar

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Éditeur(s)

The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada

ISSN

0068-8878 (imprimé)
1712-9109 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer cet article

Neary, P. (1973). "Traditional" and "Modern" Elements in the Social and Economic History of Bell Island and Conception Bay. *Historical Papers / Communications historiques*, *8*(1), 105–136. https://doi.org/10.7202/030763ar

"TRADITIONAL" AND "MODERN" ELEMENTS IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BELL ISLAND AND CONCEPTION BAY

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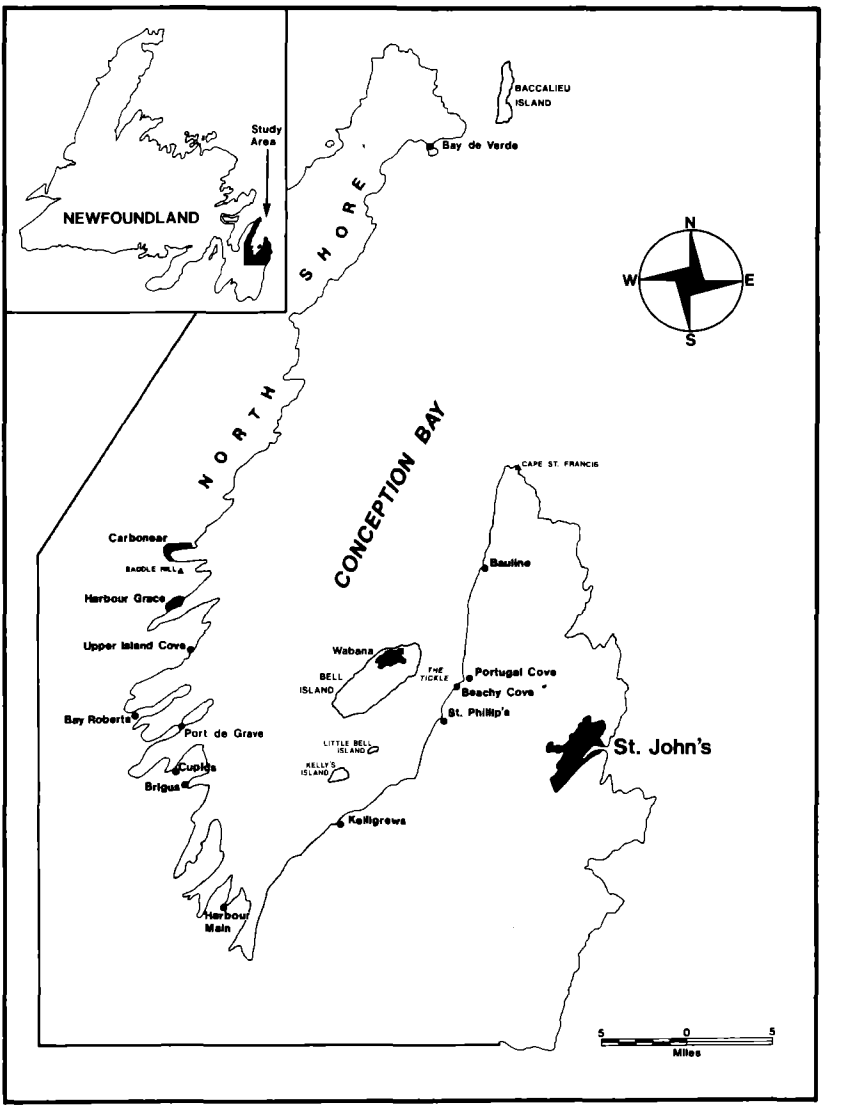
For several generations the "company town"[1] or, to describe it in contemporary parlance, "the single enterprise community", has been a primary Canadian social unit. Yet the social and cultural mores of such places have been little explored by Canadian historians, though a significant advance in this area of study was made on both the sociological and historical fronts in 1971 by Rex A. Lucas in his highly original work *Minetown Milltown Railtown*[2]. Using the criteria of "communities of single industry with a population of less than 30,000 in which at least 75 per cent of the working population serve[d] the single industry and its supporting institutional services"(p. 17), Lucas was able to identify 636 such communities across the country with a combined population of 903,401. This paper is concerned with the social, cultural, economic and political history of one such community, the former mining town of Bell Island, Newfoundland, now, since the collapse in 1966 of the industrial operation there, a spectre haunting the Canadian conscience and a place shunned, for the most part, by the architects of national economic policy because of the enormity of its post-industrial problems. No two company towns have, of course, ever been the same and in its hey-day as a mining community Bell Island was a unique place indeed. Yet from its industrial history, which extends from 1895 to 1966, generalizations can be drawn which have wider application. This seems especially true at one level of historical enquiry. In the typology of Canadian "company towns", Bell Island was characteristic of a distinctive type — the type in which the industrial work force was drawn mainly from a surrounding traditional and mercantile world where the prevailing way of life was decidedly pre-industrial. There are many such communities in Canada east of the Ottawa River and they afford a notable contrast at many levels to those "company towns" of Northern Ontario, the Prairie West and British Columbia in which a large part of the work force was recruited outside the country and was immigrant navvy in nature.

Bell Island is situated in Conception Bay with its long axis running in a northeast to southwest direction. It is the largest of many

islands in the Bay; in length its extremities are approximately six miles apart; its greatest breadth is approximately two and one-half miles. It is separated from the surrounding mainland to the north and west by the great expanse of Conception Bay. South and south-west of it lie two smaller islands — Little Bell Island and Kelly's Island; the latter is believed in local lore to be named after a seventeenth century pirate.[3] In an easterly direction the Island is separated from the adjoining coast by a 'tickle' approximately three miles wide. Across this capricious body of water lie the two mainland centres which have been its principal transportation links — Portugal Cove and St. Phillips or, to use its older name, Broad Cove. The side of the Island facing the tickle is known as "the front" (probably because it faces towards St. John's); as might be expected, the opposite side of the Island is known as "the back". St. John's is approximately nine miles from Portugal Cove and the road joining the two was one of the first highways built in Newfoundland and certainly one of the first to be paved. Geologically, Bell Island presents a striking contrast to the surrounding coast. Its appearance is that of a huge rock raised suddenly and cleanly from the deep. Except in a very few places its massive cliffs drop precipitously into the sea. At some points these awesome cliffs slope dangerously and deceptively inward from top to bottom. The surface of the Island is furrowed; the soil is surprisingly fertile and generous for Newfoundland. At almost every point on the Island there is a commanding view of the surrounding mainland. From the seaward half of the Island the entrance to Conception Bay is, on most days, clearly visible, guarded on one side by the grand promontory of Cape St. Francis and on the other by the great sweep of the North Shore and by Baccalieu Island. The climate of the Island, like that of Newfoundland generally, is one of violent contrasts. Seen on a pristine summer day from, say, Beachy Cove Hill, near Portugal Cove, the Island has a dreamy, ethereal appearance. But when in autumn the wind begins to blow ever more savagely from the northeast, its essential northern character is clearly revealed. Once grasped, the setting is not soon forgotten.

The Island enters the stream of Canadian history at an early date. It was probably frequented by visiting European fishermen of many nationalities during the sixteenth century. Its strategic position in the Bay, its proximity to rich fishing grounds, the cosmopolitan character of the place names on the surrounding coast and indeed the very name Conception Bay itself, give strength to this assumption. Certainly it was being visited by Europeans and later by their Newfoundland-born descendants from the early sixteenth century onwards, as Conception Bay gradually acquired a resident



Note: The maps accompanying this paper were drawn by Michael Crane, Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

population and began the rise which for long made it the rival of St. John's for ascendancy in Newfoundland life. There are many references to the Island in the documents relating to the history of the settlement established by the London and Bristol Company at Cuper's Cove (Cupids), Conception Bay, in 1610 under the leadership of John Guy. It was in this plantation, on the "uncouth shores"[4] of Conception Bay that Robert Hayman, Canada's first published poet, wrote his *Quodlibets*. "Composed and done at Harbour-Grace",[5] an offshoot of the original settlement, this volume, written as George Wither noted "among unpeopled woods, and hills",[6] was issued in London in 1628. By then Bell Island was already associated with the product which would one day make it famous — iron ore. John Guy himself sent samples of rock taken from the Island by a visiting fisherman to England to be analyzed.[7] But the best known publicist for the Island in the Guy colony was Henry Crout. Concerning it Crout reported to Sir Percival Willoughby, one of the backers of the venture, that "the like land is not in Newfoundland for good earth and great hope of Irone stone."[8] Confident of the mineral potential of the Island Willoughby attempted unsuccessfully over many years to have it included in the lot he obtained out of the original grant to the London and Bristol Company.[9] His confidence was not misplaced but the mining boom he hoped for did not materialize for nearly three hundred years. In the meantime Bell Island remained an integral part of the fishing economy of Conception Bay and the unique outport way of life which that economy fostered.

In May, 1839, the English scientist Joseph Jukes (1811-1869) visited Bell Island at the start of his great geological survey of Newfoundland, the first ever undertaken. He circumnavigated the Island and observed "several houses and inhabitants" at the two coves on the tickle side — "the beach" and "Lants cove".[10] Despite the buffeting he received from "a headwind and swell and thick driving fog" Jukes, an astute observer of nature and an appreciative student of Newfoundland life, was greatly impressed by what he saw.[11] "There was", he wrote later, "a fine scene, to one unaccustomed to the sight, in the dim looming through the fog of each precipitous headland as they successively appeared, frowning nakedly above us as we passed beneath their feet, and then seeming to wrap themselves in cloud again as we laboured slowly onwards".[12] Jukes enjoyed his excursion but like many others who have ventured onto the waters of Conception Bay before and since he was "heartily glad" to land again at Portugal Cove.[13]

By Jukes's time the economy of Conception Bay had reached an advanced stage of development; indeed the people of the Bay were

now entering upon their greatest period of maritime activity. The vitality of their ocean based economy was clearly evident in the demography of Newfoundland. According to the 1827-28 census, the population of St. John's district was 15,165, while that of Conception Bay, the most populous district on the island, was 17,859.[14] According to the 1857 census St. John's East had a population of 17,352, St. John's West 13,124 and the five sub-divisions of Conception Bay — Harbour Main, Port-de-Grave, Harbour Grace, Carbonear and Bay-de-Verde 33,396. In the latter census three Conception Bay centres — Bell Island, Bauline and Portugal Cove — where included in St. John's East, while Broad Cove was included in St. John's West. Touching the Bay but separated from St. John's by only a few miles, these communities felt the pull of the two contending commercial and social systems. In effect they formed a frontier region between the Bay and the capital. In 1869 the combined population of the St. John's districts including these four centres, had declined to 28,850; Conception Bay now boasted a population of 39,485. The equivalent figures for 1891 are 36,027 and 46,529. But during the next twenty years the centre of population in the region shifted dramatically towards St. John's. In 1911 the population of the St. John's districts numbered 45,685; Conception Bay's population now stood at 43,709. By 1921 the population of Conception Bay had declined to 42,756, while that of the St. John's districts had risen to 52,158 (see Table I).

As Table II shows, Bell Island's demographic history mirrored that of the region generally. The great change that occurred between 1891 and 1911 corresponds to the beginning of large scale mineral production on the Island in 1895. Clearly, in this period events on Bell Island were not only reflecting but significantly influencing the shift in the economic balance of power between St. John's and Conception Bay in favour of the former.

But before the subject of Bell Island the mining centre can be sensibly discussed it is necessary to explore further the nature of the maritime economy of Conception Bay, which was so evidently in decline when Bell Island's industrial economy was ascending at the turn of the century. This exploration is important for many reasons, not least because a large part of the industrial labour force for Bell Island was drawn from the Conception Bay towns. In its mid-nineteenth century maritime greatness Conception Bay enjoyed a diverse and sophisticated commerce. In his *Narrative of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland in 1822*, William Cormack described Conception Bay as "the most populous and important district in New-

TABLE I

POPULATION OF ST. JOHN'S DISTRICTS AND CONCEPTION BAY DISTRICTS 1857-1921*

	St. John's East	St. John's West	St. John's Total	Harbour Main	Port de Grave	Harbour Grace	Carbonear	Bay de Verde	Conception Bay — Total
1857	17,352	13,124	30,476	5,386	6,489	10,067	5,233	6,221	33,396
1869	17,204	11,646	28,850	6,542	7,513	12,740	5,633	7,057	39,485
1874	17,811	12,763	30,574	7,174	7,919	13,055	5,488	7,434	41,070
1884	22,183	15,962	38,145	8,935	8,698	14,727	6,206	10,099	48,665
1891	20,776	15,251	36,027	9,189	7,986	13,881	5,765	9,708	46,529
1901	21,512	18,483	39,995	9,500	7,445	12,671	5,024	9,827	44,467
1911	25,135	20,550	45,685	9,471	6,986	11,925	5,114	10,213	43,709
1921	28,419	23,739	52,158	9,262	6,545	11,453	4,830	10,666	42,756

*Source: Newfoundland census returns

TABLE II

POPULATION OF BELL ISLAND, 1845-1971*

1845	338
1857	428
1869	504
1874	576
1884	651
1891	709
1901	1,320
1911	3,084
1921	4,357
1935	6,157
1945	8,171
1951	10,291
1956	11,724
1961	12,281
1966	9,090
1971	6,079

*Source: Newfoundland census returns; Census of Canada.

foundland."[15] His description was apt, for in addition to the inshore fishery in and near the Bay itself, the people of this area enjoyed throughout the nineteenth century the fruits of two other great harvests of the sea. The first of these was to be found in the seal fishery, which was pursued with a vengance from the Conception Bay ports every spring. In 1833 Conception Bay sent 205 ships to the ice as compared with 110 from St. John's and 359 from the island as a whole.[16] The Conception Bay ships were manned by 4,526 men as compared to 2,536 on the ships sailing from St. John's.[17] In 1848 the Conception Bay ports of Brigus, Carbonear and Harbour Grace sent 171 ships to the ice out of a Newfoundland total of 341.[18] The other great maritime enterprise of the Bay was the fishery carried on each summer on the north shore of Newfoundland and, more importantly, on the coast of Labrador. This enterprise carried the people of the Bay even farther afield than did the seal fishery. Between their homes and the rich fishing grounds of the north lay hundreds of miles of treacherous sea.

But their resourcefulness and seamanship was such that for generations they were the winners in an endeavour that Norman Duncan (1871-1916) once described as a "great lottery of hope and fortune".[19] It has been estimated that between 1812 and 1833 vessels from Conception Bay outnumbered vessels from St. John's two or three to one in this trade, with Harbour Grace leading the way.[20] By 1847 nearly 2,000 people in this community alone were involved in the Labrador trade.[21] From an early date in their history, therefore, the people of Conception Bay were wanderers, willing to travel great distances and to endure great hardship and risk, to augment the income that could be obtained from their immediate surroundings. Thus when the young Irish immigrant Thomas Talbot arrived in Conception Bay in 1837 what struck him as remarkable about Harbour Grace was the notable absence of so many people from the town during the summer months while the Labrador fishery was in progress.[22]

The whole maritime enterprise of Conception Bay was based on an elaborate line of credit extended by the mercantile houses of the principal towns. The best known of these were located at Harbour Grace and Carbonear. In Harbour Grace (and therefore in the whole Bay area) the largest and most influential of the nineteenth century mercantile houses was that built by John Munn. Munn was born in Scotland and came to Newfoundland in 1825, where he worked for eight years for the firm of Baine Johnson and Company.[23] He moved to Harbour Grace in 1833 and opened a business in partnership with William Punton, another Scot, operating first under the name of Punton and Munn and, after 1872, under the name of John Munn and Company. Munn built the business into "the colony's largest general supplying and mercantile business outside St. John's."[24] In addition to its involvement in the Labrador and seal fisheries, the Munn firm built ships. It also owned the *Harbour Grace Standard* and Munn was one of the founders of the Union Bank of St. John's. That Harbour Grace was often referred to as "Munnsborough" is a measure of his importance in the life of Conception Bay.[25]

Between the mercantile houses and the people there existed a patron-client relationship. In general the way of life which the economic system of the Bay fostered focused on the extended family, which was equipped to provide most of the basic necessities of life for itself. Organized to extract from land and sea all that could be got, the family also provided an elaborate if somewhat primitive system of social security. Children were absorbed into the system through example and work and the old retained a place of honour and usefulness in the home. The prevailing ethos of the Bay was familial and individualistic. Hence local government and local taxes were unknown. Indeed almost

all taxation in outport Newfoundland was hidden and indirect until well into this present century. The varied and seasonal nature of their fishing enterprises required the Bay people to exhibit a variety of skills. As noted above, it also made them itinerant workers, a characteristic they have retained to the present day. At his best the typical Conception Bayman was an extremely versatile worker. He could build, mend, repair, hunt, farm and fish. In short he was Newfoundland's equivalent of the French Canadian habitant or the yeoman farmer of old Ontario. "A precious people" was how Lawrence Coughlan, the first Methodist missionary in Newfoundland, described the inhabitants of Conception Bay North where he had laboured with great success.[26] They were, he wrote, a "People of very bright Genius". "I have known a Man, who could not read a Letter in a Book, go into the Wood, and cut down Timber, bring the same out with the Help of a Servant, and build a Boat, rig it, and afterwards go to Sea with the same Boat".[27] Women were fully integrated into the world of work and within the family there existed an elaborate and rigidly observed division of labour. In all family life was an endless preparation for the exigencies of the next phase in the yearly cycle of oceanic activity. The involvement of the family with the world of trade through the mercantile houses could raise it to considerable heights of affluence but this was by no means its entire economic *raison d'etre*. Through its versatility it was equipped, if necessary, to fall back on its own resources and live at subsistence level.

What Conception Bay had in effect was a tenacious peasant culture, honed through generations and exhibiting an easy and fine balance between man and nature, not unlike the culture that Farley Mowat observed in decay on the southwest coast of Newfoundland in the 1960's. It was this peasant culture, which made Newfoundland unique, that formed the setting for the most important nineteenth century Newfoundland novel, *The New Priest in Conception Bay*, written by the American Robert Traill Lowell (1816-1881) and published in Boston in 1857. Lowell was the son of the distinguished Unitarian clergyman Charles Lowell and the brother of James Russell Lowell. Born in Boston he was educated at Harvard University and ordained in the Episcopal church in 1843. His novel drew upon his experiences as a missionary for the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Bay Roberts between 1843 and 1847.

Conception Bay itself did not produce a leisure class and was not therefore a centre of literary and artistic endeavour in a formal sense. But it did nuture and give inspiration to one of Canada's greatest poets, Edwin John Pratt. Pratt was born at Western Bay on the

North Shore in 1882. His father was a Methodist minister and, largely at his mother's behest, he himself turned for a time to this calling. From 1905 to 1907 he preached on the "Bell-Island-Cove charge".[28] But he was restless in this work and in the latter year, like an ever increasing number of his countrymen, "left for away", in his case for Toronto. If Conception Bay had any group which had time to seek cultivation for its own sake, it was to be found in association with the churches. The Presentation and Mercy Orders of the Roman Catholic Church arrived in Newfoundland in 1833 and 1842 respectively,[29] while the sons of the Anglican and Methodist clergy provided a recruitment base for the liberal professions. That E.J. Pratt should have followed the career that he did is a tribute to his origins as well as his talents. Whatever creativity there was in the common people went for the most part into shipbuilding and the fashioning of the implements and utensils needed in their several maritime pursuits. Unfortunately, little evidence of their talent remains, for the sea is a great devourer of men and things. Only in the realm of church and, in some instances, domestic architecture can we see what old Newfoundland could produce and even here the prevailing wooden construction has drastically limited what has survived. Nevertheless there is in this area a rich and largely unappreciated heritage.

Beyond the family and the world of trade Conception Bay society was built largely around church life. Ethnically the people of the Bay were overwhelmingly of West Country English and Irish origin. This meant that they were denominationally heterogeneous; the Irish were Roman Catholic and the English mainly Anglican and Wesleyan or Methodist. Methodism was brought to Newfoundland in 1765 by Lawrence Coughlan.[30] It was the first of many evangelical movements that have kept Newfoundland Protestantism in ferment down to the present day. Its most obvious successors in this role have been the Salvation Army, which had firmly established itself on the Island by the turn of the nineteenth century, and the Pentecostal Church, which has made great headway in the Canadian province since 1949. Methodism's most spectacular success in Conception Bay was on the North Shore "below Carbonear"; but it was so strong in Carbonear district itself and in the districts of Harbour Grace and Port de Grave. In 1891, just before the Bell Island mining venture began, both St. John's districts had clear Roman Catholic majorities. In Conception Bay Harbour Main had a Roman Catholic majority, Harbour Grace a Church of England majority and Bay de Verde a Methodist majority. In Port de Grave district no denomination was in a majority position but Anglicans formed the largest single group. In Carbonear district Methodists formed the largest single group and were moving towards a majority position.

Politically, this religious heterogeneity helped at times to make the Bay population an explosive mixture. The denominationally mixed district of Harbour Grace was the scene of a number of turbulent elections and the rhetoric of Conception Bay politics was almost always shrill. Yet it cannot be said that politics in nineteenth century Newfoundland hinged on a simple division of the population along denominational lines, though denominationalism was always a potent issue and rallying cry. There were other important cleavages in the population besides the denominational one, most notably the divisions between fisherman and merchant or patron and client and between St. John's and the outports. That the Liberal and Conservative Parties were derisively called the Priests' and Merchants' Parties speaks for itself about the complexity of their origins.[31] Ethnicity, particularly among the Irish, and localism were dynamic forces in Newfoundland political life and these are often hard to distinguish from denominationalism.

Politics aside the denominational heterogeneity of the Bay had other important consequences. Almost from its inception in Newfoundland education was in the hands of the churches, which in effect became the arm of the state in this crucial activity.[32] The symbiosis of church and state in Newfoundland education was to survive the impact of industrialism on the Island; it remains an important and unique feature of Newfoundland life today. It was one of the most important parts of the legacy of the old mercantile Newfoundland to the new industrial Newfoundland. The churches also provided leadership in rural Newfoundland in the organization of the annual cycle of entertainments or "times" which punctuated the endless routine of work. Church related organizations also provided programs of social security to supplement those of the home, always, of course, to prop the family up and to maintain its position as the primary social unit. The Orange Order, which was established in Newfoundland in 1863, the Society of United Fishermen, the Star of the Sea Association, and later the Knights of Columbus, all played this role in Newfoundland and were all represented at one time or another in Conception Bay.[33] The expectation and acceptance of church leadership in secular matters was as deeply rooted in Newfoundland as it ever was in Quebec and it did not begin changing until the industrial era was well advanced. Indeed, it could be argued that in both societies the effect of the early impact of industrialization was to strengthen this predisposition. Certainly, those who have directly assaulted the certainties of old Newfoundland have been assigned to the rag and bone shop of its political history. Nobody understood this more than Joseph Roberts Smallwood, "the unlikely revolutionary", whose perception of when to alter and

when to genuflect was uncanny. "Governments come and governments go", Smallwood wrote in 1937, "but the people live on forever, their experience becoming ever more enriched by vicissitudes, failures and success.[34] It is the people who count; they, and their inherent qualities of mind and heart." The populist credo has rarely been better put.

What the Conception Bay mercantile economy and familial and denominational social system produced at its best is depicted in *The Log of Bob Bartlett*, the autobiography of one of Newfoundland's most famous mariners. Bartlett was born into an aristocracy of the sea at a moment when his home town of Brigus was in the last years of its and Conception Bay's great age of maritime endeavour. The boyhood he describes was one of comfort and security:

> It was in my grandparent Bartlett's home that I was born. The house had high ceilings, and was plastered with home-made lime from basement to roof. The large rooms were furnished with old English furniture, mostly brought from the old country. In the lower floor were French windows with long crimson curtains and heavy mahogany rods in well polished brass rings. I remember the rich Brussels carpet, the big mahogany table in the center of the room, the open fireplace with brass fenders and andirons; the quaint marble clock on the mantlepiece; the rich crimson and gold papers on the walls . . .
>
> Money was plentiful in those early days. With the many avenues for revenue open to a man, especially sealing, it was seldom that all of them failed during one season. And since . . . those were the days before prohibition, nearly every master had a well stocked cellar. As a result it was often a difficult thing for the poor women-folks to round up their lords at meal time since masters were always around sampling each other's stock. But this was also in the good old days when servants were plenty and never thought of kicking either at late dinners or extra company and meals were seldom served on the dot.[35]

But when Bartlett wrote these nostalgic lines in 1928 "the good old days" had long since gone. Indeed, as he himself realized, "the Golden Age of Newfoundland" when Brigus could rival "New Bedford, New London, Mystic, Stonington and other New England places in their eras of prosperity"[36] was now but a distant memory. The decline of population in Conception Bay at the turn of the century had been accompanied by a social downfall. "Visiting these old scenes today", Bartlett wrote, "it seems impossible that they could have been the center of such open hearted genial hospitality and gaiety. Alas, most of the fine old mansions have crumbled to dust with their owners."[37]

What had caused the decline which Bartlett felt and regretted so deeply? The answer is complicated. In the seal fishery Conception Bay's decline seems to have been attributable to the introduction of steam powered vessels, which gave St. John's, with its greater capital

resources, a comparative advantage. In 1873 seventeen steamers sailed from St. John's but only one from Harbour Grace.[38] In 1870 Harbour Grace sent 53 ships and 2,825 men to the ice; the comparable figures for 1880 are 17 ships and 1,515 men.[39] By the turn of the century the once great sealing fleet of this Conception Bay town had completely disappeared.[40] The Labrador fishery also declined during this period, though its history in the Bay is not as bleak as that of the seal fishery. After 1865 the Labrador fishery from Harbour Grace experienced many ups and downs but the overall trend was downward. Between 1866 and 1870 the average number of ships in the Harbour Grace Labrador fleet was 81;[41] the equivalent figure for the 1896-1900 period is 37. Many reasons have been suggested for this decline. These include increased competition on world markets, deterioration in the quality of the Newoundland product, and the failure of the sealing industry with which the Labrador enterprise was interlocked.[42] Symbolic of the decline of the Conception Bay maritime economy was the bankruptcy in 1894 of the great Munn firm.

Had it not been for the rise of Bell Island as a mining centre Conception Bay's fall from economic grace would doubtless have been more severe. In combination with a quickening pace of emigration to the United States and Canada, which reached its height in the 1920's the mining boom on Bell Island gave Conception Bay a badly needed economic crutch.[43] What the Island received from the Bay in return was an inheritance of attitudes and values that derived from and were appropriate to a maritime and mercantile economy. Many Conception Bay people moved their households to Bell Island, while retaining close kinship ties in their former communities; but there were others who, following an age old Newfoundland pattern, travelled back and forth from the Island to their outport homes on a seasonal, monthly, or at times even weekly basis. This pattern of commuting persisted right down to the collapse of the mining operations, a process that began in 1959 and ended in 1966. The ready access to the outports constantly reinforced the attitudes brought from the old mercantile culture by the first generation of wage workers to come from the Conception Bay communities. The "ancient ways" of Newfoundland persisted with amazing vitality on Bell Island and an industrial culture only slowly and imperfectly emerged there. As a mining community Bell Island was influenced above all else by an easy interplay with the outport world around it and its twentieth century history can only be understood in terms of this social and cultural duality. Like many other Newfoundland and Canadian company towns across the mining and forest frontier of the mid-north, it was an industrial community shaped in the bosom of the past and it always cast a lingering backward glance.

The mining operation which began production on Bell Island in 1895 and which helped offset the decline in Conception Bay's mercantile economy owed its existence to the intervention of outside (in this case Canadian) capital into the Newfoundland economy. In this it set a precedent for the future resource industrial economy of the Island and Labrador; except perhaps for the Bay d'Espoir hydro-electric development of the 1960s there has never been a major resource development in either place that has drawn on indigenous private capital or been promoted under the auspices of public ownership. As might be expected, capital was attracted to Bell Island in support of development elsewhere — in this case principally Nova Scotia, though European ore markets were always important to the success of the mines. Bell Island was developed as a mining center primarily to provide the Cape Breton steel industry with iron ore; its rise was an important aspect of the development of an integrated steel industry in the Atlantic region; its history is, therefore, illustrative of the behaviour of Canadian capitalism abroad. The first company to mine ore on the Island was the Nova Scotia Coal and Steel Company.[44] This company was popularly known as the "Scotia" company. In 1899 part of this company's holdings on the Island passed into the hands of the Dominion Iron and Steel Corporation, which was popularly known as the "Dominion" company. In 1922 both companies were absorbed into the British Empire Steel Corporation. This corporation went into receivership in 1926 and for the next four years its affairs were directed by the National Trust Company. In 1930 the operation was sold to the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation (DOSCO). Dominion Wabana Ore Limited, a subsidiary of this corporation, operated the mine from 1949. Finally, in 1957 both subsidiary and parent passed under the control of A.V. Roe Canada Ltd.[45] Initially mining was carried on on the surface of the Island, but eventually shafts were sunk under the sea from the back of the Island. When the operation closed in 1966 Bell Islanders were working more than three miles under the ocean that had sustained their ancestors for so many generations. In the course of its mining history Bell Island witnessed many technological changes. At various times the extraction of the ore employed manpower, horse-power, steam-power, and diesel power. Foreign ownership of the mining operation meant foreign control. Generally speaking, the top managerial group on Bell Island was recruited outside Newfoundland, and it stood apart in the town. In the latter years of the mining operation it was closely identified with an area of the Island known locally as "snob hill". Since the skills of the Newfoundlander and Conception Bayman were those of the sea, a number of skilled workers and tradesmen employed in the operation came from "away" as well, though Bell Island through its history developed a highly skilled indigenous work

force. Yet if outport man was represented most of all in the lower reaches of the industrial hierarchy he was essential to its integrity nevertheless. Table III below shows the origins of Bell Island's population 1891-1921.

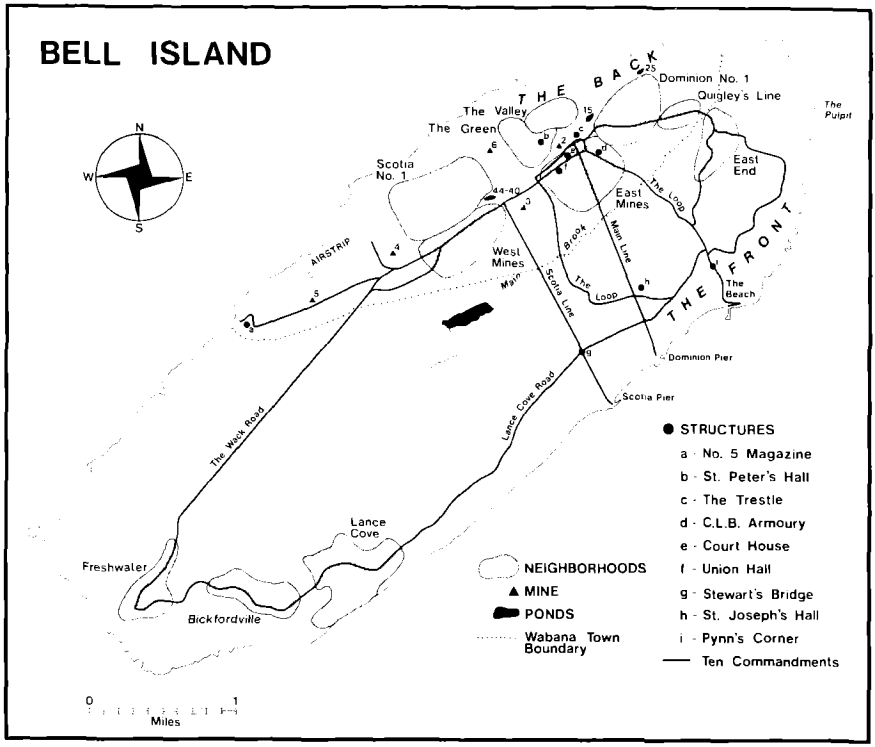
TABLE III

BIRTHPLACES OF BELL ISLANDERS, 1891-1921*

	Newfound-land	England	Ireland	Scotland	British Colon-ies	Foreign & other Coun-tries
1891	702	—	7	—	—	—
1901	1,268	4	4	3	23	18
1911	2,955	14	8	3	82	22
1921	4,282	10	2	5	21	37

*Source: Newfoundland census returns.

Bell Island quickly acquired the appearance of a typical mid-northern company town of its vintage. In time it had a "company store", a "staff house" and a "main office". It also produced rows of "company houses" and a "shacktown". Some of the place names in use on the Island pre-dated the industrial era, but names drawn from the new world of work predominated. There was a west mines, an east mines, and a compressor hill. There was a Scotia No. 1 and a Dominion No. 1 and there were residential areas known simply as Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Even the bodies of water that were created by the great unfilled surface excavations retained their engineering designations in popular usage. Children on Bell Island did not go skating on ponds, as did other Newfoundland boys and girls; instead they skated on places with names like 15, 25 and 44-40. The name of one street, the Wack road, was a grim reminder of how the fortunes of the mining industry could shift. Built during the troubled 1930s its official name was Middleton Avenue (it was named after a governor); but it was almost universally known for the "wack" or "dole" which had been paid in lieu of wages to those who had built it. But not all was novelty even in the popular usage of the mining population. Significantly, each underground mine had a "captain", almost always a Newfoundlander steeped in the ancient ways of his people. And children on Bell Island were still threatened with "being taken by the fairies" if they misbehaved.[56] Looked at in the long term, Bell Island's history exhibited great continuity as well as great change.



As a mining centre Bell Island knew many ups and downs. From 1895 to 1912 the operation experienced a few setbacks but no major reverse. The average annual production in long tons between 1896 and 1905 was 411,750.[47] This figure more than doubled to 974,449 tons between 1906 and 1915. Bell Island had become a boom town and one of the brightest spots in the Newfoundland economy. But the start of the Great War destroyed this rosy picture overnight. The Scotia Company, which had its major market in Germany, closed its works and the Dominion Company reduced its work force by about seventy-five per cent.[48] There was an economic recovery on the Island as the war went on but the immediate post-war period saw another sudden collapse. A brief period of recovery was followed by yet another downfall when France occupied the Ruhr in 1923.[49] For the period 1916-25 the annual production of the mines was 760,403 long tons annually, considerably less than what had been achieved in the boom pre-war period.[50] The Depression of the 1930s dealt another blow to the Island economy. By 1934 only one mine was operating on the Island.[51] The beginning of rearmament in the later 1930s saw the return of prosperity once more and this was sustained by the war. Table IV below shows that German ships loaded ore at Bell Island well into 1939.

TABLE IV

IRON ORE SHIPMENTS FROM BELL ISLAND TO GERMANY
1935-36 — 1939-40*

Year-Ending	Value	Tonnage
June 30, 1936	$ 180,954	66,125
June 30, 1937	$ 711,445	278,827
June 30, 1938	$ 542,136	212,602
June 30, 1939**	$1,076,100	421,999
June 30, 1940	$ 178,335	69,935

*Source: *Newfoundland Customs Returns*, Newfoundland Archives.

**The last ship to carry ore to Germany before the outbreak of war left Bell Island on August 26 (Bown, vol. 2, p. 75).

The subsequent importance of the mines to the Allied wartime economy was underlined by the fact that there were several German submarine raids in Conception Bay. During the period 1936-45 the average annual tonnage produced reached a new high of 1,155,609.[52] The period 1945-59 was economically one of the most stable in the history of the mining operations.[53] But in 1959 market conditions and increased competition from new producers forced a major shut-down. After a prolonged period of apprehension for those who remained on the job, the final collapse came in 1966. Still the stark announcement on Tuesday, April 19, 1966, that "the Company" would abandon ownership of the operation on June 30 was different only in degree in the history of Bell Island; the people there had never been strangers to disaster and they had learned to control their hopes and to cope. Yet they were perhaps doubly unfortunate at the end because their economy collapsed just as governments in Canada were finally being forced to develop systematic policies to counteract the industrial catastrophes that external markets and foreign control make a constant threat to the company towns strung out across the mid-Canada belt. When the No. 6 mine closed on Bell Island in 1959, neither level of government had either the will or the policy instruments to deal with the crisis. In effect Canada's politicians and administrators were still operating at the first aid level in this murky era of the country's national life. Some union leaders on Bell Island advocated the nationalization of the mines but this call passed unheeded.[54] James McGrath, the Progressive Conservative member of Parliament for St. John's East, the federal constituency which included Bell Island, said "that he had submitted a plan himself which could be helpful toward keeping mine No. 6

open", but any expectations aroused by this report came to nothing.[55] A controversial attempt by the provincial government in 1966 to keep the last of the mines open proved equally abortive. In the end all the federal government did for Bell Islanders was to improve their means of communication with the unemployment insurance and manpower bureaucracies and to assist some of the unemployed to move elsewhere. The magnitude of the problem that developed on Bell Island in 1959 was such that it was probably beyond the capacity of the provincial government, with its slender resources and many claimants, to meet. Only an imaginative federal program might have met the emergency effectively and humanely but Ottawa's response was at best piecemeal. The last years of Bell Island's history as an industrial centre perhaps illustrate above all else the failure of national social and economic planning to keep up with the demands of a drastically altered world market place and a rapidly changing technological environment.

As might be expected, the history of unionism on Bell Island was as checkered as that of the mining operation itself. There were labour troubles on Bell Island even before there was a union. In 1895 there was, in the words of Derek Green, the only historian of Bell Island unionism, "a general uproar" over the fear that the Scotia company would bring in miners from Nova Scotia and thereby deny employment to local men.[56] The following year there was an unsuccessful strike for higher wages.[57] There was another and more serious strike in 1900; this time there was violence when workers were brought from St. John's to load an ore carrier.[58] The main issue in this strike was the company's wage scale. After the strike began a union was formed — the Wabana Workmen and Labourers' Union.[59] This union eventually reached an agreement with the company in negotiations held at the nearby Conception Bay community of Kelligrews". The settlement was popularly known as "the Treaty of Kelligrews".[60] Significantly, the union that negotiated it did not last. It had been called into existence by a crisis and it fell apart after that crisis had been resolved.[61] This was to be an enduring pattern on the Island and is in itself important evidence that the individualism of mercantile and outport Newfoundland was a sturdy transplant there.

Another period of labour unrest followed the first world war and the takeover of the mines by BESCO. In 1922 a worker's committee on Bell Island attempted to forge links with the union movement in Canada and the United States.[62] In October, 1923, this committee sent two delegates, Joshua Humber and John Skanes, to Sydney to enlist the support of the unions there and to effect, if possible, an affiliation with the United Mine Workers. But their mission failed when Humber was refused entry to Canada on the grounds that he

was a labour agitator and Skanes refused to proceed without him.[63] Nevertheless, the committee on the Island proceeded to form a new union. But this union, which was for a time affiliated with the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, did not bargain directly with the company. Rather the negotiations in which it engaged were always tripartite, with the government not only participating but actually signing the agreements with the company.[64] The establishment of this union was followed by a prolonged conflict between it and the company over whether union membership should be a condition of employment, in short over union recognition. More trouble followed in 1925. Thereafter the strength of the union declined rapidly and in July, 1926, on the closing of one of the mines, the men involved worked once more through an *ad hoc* committee rather than through the union. Another *ad hoc* "workmen's committee" was formed in 1927 to negotiate a wage agreement with the company.[65] By 1928 the union was, for all practical purposes, defunct. The pattern of *ad hoc* "workmen's committees" remained the rule until the coming of the Second World War. The next and most successful attempt at union organization on Bell Island was initiated by David Ignatius "Nish" Jackman in 1941. A native of Bell Island and the son of an earlier union leader, Nish Jackman had learned the tricks of his trade in California during the 1930s.[66] When the company announced that the mines would be reduced to half time, Jackman organized and led a "workmen's committee" and subsequently began the organization of a new union.[67] He swept all before him and in October, 1941, became the president of a new Wabana Mine Workers' Union. Later Jackman represented Bell Island in the National Convention called by the Government of the United Kingdom in 1945 to advise it on the constitutional future of Newfoundland. After Confederation Jackman served two terms in the Newfoundland legislature, for the district of Harbour Main-Bell Island. The union led by Jackman negotiated directly with the company and thus inaugurated a new era of labour relations on Bell Island. By 1944 the union had affiliated with the Newfoundland Federation of Labour[68] and in 1948 it was chartered as local 4121 of the United Steel Workers of America.[69] In 1951 Bell Island saw its last important unionization drive when Steve Neary, who was to inherit Nish Jackman's mantle in Bell Island politics, led the organization of a local of the Office Employees International Union.[70]

The union movement arose naturally out of the conditions of work on Bell Island, as it did elsewhere in the industrialized world. That it arose so imperfectly and so painfully and with such limited success owed something to the varying fortunes of the mining operation itself; but it was also a function of the outport heritage of the Bell

Island population. A union after all was but one of a number of institutions competing for the loyalty and attention of Bell Islanders. Looking at the whole history of the mining operation it can be seen that the community of Bell Island really had two sets of institutions. One derived from the world of work, the force of urbanization and the growing contact of Newfoundlanders with the North American world. The other set derived from old Newfoundland. The first set was represented in union, town council, cooperative store and service club; the second set was represented in lodge, order, society, sodality, association and worldly church. It is not possible to say definitively which set was dominant, but it is perhaps significant that in the wake of the collapse of the mining operation Bell Island has an Orange Lodge but no union.[71]

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the vitality of old Newfoundland on Bell Island than the endemic weakness of local government there. Indeed, the paternalistic activities of the mining companies in the provision (albeit in a rudimentary form) of at least some of the services that are elsewhere associated with local government suggests that the patron-client symbiosis of rural Newfoundland may also have been transferred intact to the new industrial world. On March 9, 1910, J.M. Kent, the senior member for St. John's East, presented a petition to the House of Assembly from a group of Bell Islanders asking that the people of the Island "be permitted to govern and control their own local affairs."[72] Specifically, the petitioners sought local "handling of the three grants available to the Island, namely road, marine and poor grants."[73] On December 2, 1912, Sir E.P. Morris, the Prime Minister of Newfoundland, held a public meeting on the Island to discuss the possible formation of a local council.[74] His visit was followed by the election of a nine man council in January, 1913.[75] But by 1917 this arrangement had broken down.[76] Subsequently, there were two councils on the Island — one for the Front and one for the Mines area; in the latter area the Wabana Council was providing street lighting and a public water system by 1919.[77] But this arrangement also proved unstable; in 1922 the members of the Wabana Council resigned in a body.[78] The following year a petition was circulated calling upon the Island to be administered once again by one council.[79] In February, 1924, new Front and Mines' councils were elected[80] but a 1927 petition for street lighting was brought to St. John's by two members of the clergy — Rev. J.J. McGrath and Rev. I. Parsons.[81] An incorporated municipality that could raise local taxes and attempt to deal systematically with such problems was not established on the Island until 1950. By then population growth and the force of urban-

ization had created massive social problems. By 1945 Bell Island's population had advanced to 8,171; six years later it stood at 10,291.[82] In 1961 it reached an all-time census high of 12,281 — and this in a town that did not have a water and sewerage system. Yet a movement that began on the Island in the mid-1940s to establish a new town council met with the same opposition that similar efforts have frequently encountered elsewhere in Newfoundland. Until recently the initiative for local government in Newfoundland usually came from above and usually met with great local resistance.

On August 28, 1947, the people of Bell Island were asked in a plebiscite[83] whether they favoured the establishment of a town council. As Table V shows, they rejected the suggestion by 1,135 votes to 685.

TABLE V

RESULT OF BELL ISLAND TOWN COUNCIL PLEBISCITE HELD AUGUST 28, 1947*

Name of Polling Booth	Number	Ballots Rejected	Number For	Number Against
West Mines	7	15	49	128
Stewart's Bridge	10	7	23	83
East End	3	0	9	59
Bickfordville	8	0	12	31
Freshwater	6	0	6	34
Union Hall	1	2	144	137
Lance Cove	9	2	23	59
Firehall	12	2	62	24
Quigley's Line	13	1	35	69
CLB Armoury	4	6	53	47
St. Peter's Hall	5	0	95	117
St. Joseph's Hall	2	0	38	87
Pynn's Corner	11	4	19	81
Court House	15	0	97	111
Scotia No. 1	14	2	20	68
TOTAL			685	1,135

*Source: Report of returning officer, Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Government of Newfoundland. I am grateful to Mr. Art Brown for this reference.

Eventually a council was established on the Island but it was grudgingly accepted by many who preferred the individualism, clientage and patronage of the past.[84] Moreover, opposition to its creation was so

strong that the incorporated area took in only part of the Island, which was designated the town of Wabana. Table VI shows that to this day a sizeable part of the Island's population has never known the benefit of local government.

TABLE VI

POPULATION OF TOWN OF WABANA AND UNORGANIZED AREA OF BELL ISLAND, 1951-71*

	Unorganized	Town of Wabana	Total
1951	3,831	6,460	10,291
1956	3,851	7,873	11,724
1961	4,255	8,026	12,281
1966	1,206	6,884	9,090
1971	658	5,421	6,079

*Census of Canada

Social attitudes and economic and demographic realities were ironically and paradoxically juxtaposed on Bell Island.

But perhaps this is to be expected in an industrial town in a non-industrial setting. What is true of Bell Island and Newfoundland may be true of other areas of eastern Canada; certainly the mining town portrayed in Claude Jutra's *Mon Oncle Antoine* bears a striking resemblance to what can be found in the history of Bell Island. Historians can too quickly conclude that because the objective conditions of urbanism and industrialism exist that "an urban and industrial" outlook also exists. In the conditions of foreign ownership, foreign control, dependence on external markets and cultural and economic duality, the new urban and industrial man may be slow in appearing. What perhaps happens in these circumstances is that the social effect of urbanism and industrialism is cumulative. The attitudes and institutions of the past survive long into the new economic era, though gradually becoming weak and hollow and finally standing as nothing but forms. Then in rapid order ancient ways are suddenly and dramatically swept aside. Quebec's "quiet revolution" might fit into this pattern, while Newfoundland seems to have entered such a period of rapid change around 1966. As for Bell Island, its industrial economy fell apart before the cumulative effect of social change could make its effect fully felt. To the end it was essentially in the grip of old Newfoundland.

In the larger universe of Newfoundland politics Bell Island's conservatism was also manifest. Until after World War II the Island was represented by politicians who did not differ in any significant respect from their legislative peers. No doubt an important consideration here was the fact that Bell Island, through most of its industrial history, was tied politically to the surrounding outport and mercantile world. Until 1929 it formed part of the district of St. John's East, which elected three members at large.[85] But even when it was established as a separate constituency it elected in 1928[86] a member whose career on the Island had been managerial and who fitted the established conventions of Newfoundland politics remarkably well.[87] In 1932 Bell Island was again made part of a larger constituency, Harbour Main-Bell Island.[88] Nish Jackman's election to represent Bell Island at the National Convention marked a break with the past. But if the election of a labour leader was unusual in Newfoundland, Jackman's subsequent views were in keeping with the conservatism of the St. John's region. He opposed Confederation and in this stand had the strong support of his constituents in the two referenda held in 1948.[89] After union with Canada Jackman sat in the House of Assembly as a Progressive Conservative. Bell Islanders would elect a labour leader in provincial politics but not as a labour candidate. On the one occasion after 1949 that a labour leader did run in a provincial election as a labour candidate he came third and a Tory was elected. Since it was again made a separate constituency in 1955, Bell Island has returned three members to the House of Assembly — two as Liberals and one as a Progressive Conservative. Tables VII, VIII and IX show the provincial and federal electoral record of the Island in detail.

TABLE VII

PROVINCIAL ELECTION RETURNS BY PARTY, BELL ISLAND, 1956-72*

	Liberal Liberal	Progressive Conservative	CCF/NDP	Independent
1956	1,912	901	43	328
1959	1,385	1,631	462†	—
1962	1,814	1,522	—	—
1966	1,761	423	—	147
1971	1,567	820	—	—
1972	1,175	973	—	155

*Source: Reports of the Chief Electoral Officer.

†These votes were cast for the candidate of the Newfoundland Democratic Party, the provincial forerunner to the New Democratic Party.

TABLE VIII

ELECTION RETURNS: HARBOUR MAIN-BELL ISLAND, 1949, 1951; BELL ISLAND, 1956-72*

1949	David Ignatius Jackman	PC	4,259
	R.J. Fahey	PC	3,808
	Addison Brown	L	2,927
	M.P. Murray	L	2,807
1951	Addison Brown	L	2,877
	John F. Dawson	PC	2,747
	David Ignatius Jackman	PC	2,939
	Philip J. Lewis	L	2,893
1956	Michael J. Hawco	Ind.	328
	David Ignatius Jackman	PC	901
	Ray Littlejohn	CCF	43
	Joseph O'Driscoll	L	1,912
1959	Richard J. Greene	PC	1,631
	Stephen A. Neary	NDP†	462
	Joseph O'Driscoll	L	1,385
1962	Richard J. Greene	PC	1,522
	Stephen A. Neary	L	1,814
1966	Herbert J. Buckingham	PC	423
	Joseph Raymond Gendreau	Ind.	147
	Stephen A. Neary	L	1,761
1971	Bern Fitzpatrick	PC	820
	Stephen A. Neary	L	1,567
1972	Bern Fitzpatrick	PC	973
	Stephen A. Neary	L	1,175
	Edward J. Russell	Ind.	155

*Source: 1949 result, *Parliamentary Guide*;
1951-72 results, Reports of Chief Electoral Officer.

†Newfoundland Democratic Party.

TABLE IX

VOTING RECORD OF BELL ISLAND IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS, 1949-68*

1949	William Gillies	CCF	50
	Gordon F. Higgins	PC	1,500
	Ambrose J. Shea	L	1,176
1953	Peter J. Cashin	Ind.	1,176
	Allan M. Fraser	L	1,362
	Gordon F. Higgins	PC	691
1957	Allan M. Fraser	L	1,328
	James A. McGrath	PC	1,452
1958	David Ignatius Jackman	IL†	86
	James A. McGrath	PC	2,701
	J. Gregory O'Grady	L	1,264
1962	Eric D. Hiscock	SC	20
	James A. McGrath	PC	2,098
	James J. Walsh	NDP	60
	Brian White	L	1,675
1963	James A. McGrath	PC	1,916
	Joseph P. O'Keefe	L	1,549
1965	William J. Browne	PC	921
	Norman W. King	SC	37
	Joseph P. O'Keefe	L	1,647
	Cyril W. Strong	NDP	65
1968	Norman W. King	SC	14
	James A. McGrath	PC	1,382
	Joseph P. O'Keefe	L	596
	Mary Summers	NDP	25

*Source: *Reports of the Chief Electoral Officer; Parliamentary Guide.*
†Independent Labour.

In little ways the same conservative spirit is also apparent. In a good Conception Bay and outport tradition, many people on the Island were reluctant to give themselves over fully to one kind of work. Gardens were kept by many families in an attempt to make the industrial wage part of a larger economic package. In 1931, as the economic situation facing the mining operation worsened, the company leased some of its lands to its employees for agricultural purposes.[90] By 1933

Bell Islanders were lining up for seed potatoes being distributed by the company.[91] There is also some evidence of resistance on the Island to the time regiment of industrial work. Life in outport Newfoundland was organized on a cyclical and seasonal basis. There was no such thing as a shift or a twelve, ten or eight hour day. Industrialism, of course, demands these; it requires a rigid and often monotonous routine of work, job specialization, and a careful division of labour. Like people of traditional societies everywhere in the world, Newfoundlanders have not always found the change easy to accept. In February, 1925, the company on Bell Island closed the mines after the men had rebelled against the introduction of a punch clock system.[92] The government intervened in the quarrel and a settlement was arranged whereby the clocks were removed..[93] Workers on Bell Island also insisted on being paid in cash rather than by cheque.[94]

The role of the churches on Bell Island also suggests a great continuity with the past. Table X shows that Bell Island's population reflected the religious heterogeneity of Conception Bay, though in each census year it had a Roman Catholic majority. Much of the social life of the Island centred on the churches, as it did elsewhere in Newfoundland. Equally, the churches organized and in part financed education. When the mines closed in 1966 Bell Island had Roman Catholic, Anglican, United Church and Salvation Army schools. The problems posed for the churches by the growth of the Island's population were formidable but in meeting them they were able to draw upon the wealth that the mining industry produced. A unique feature of Island life beginning in the late 1930s was a 2% check-off from the wages of the workers on a denominational basis for use by the churches.[95] This was an 'opt-in' scheme but the social pressure to contribute by this means was very strong. The cash economy of the new industrial era may in fact have initially strengthened the churches in their traditional secular roles. But it is impossible to be definitive about this since no historian of Newfoundland has yet attempted a study of the reaction of the churches to the coming of industrialism along the lines of William F. Ryan's *The Clergy and Economic Growth in Quebec (1896-1914).* It is, however, clear that on Bell Island the clergy rivalled the managerial elite and union and political leaders for social prominence. Mgr. George F. Bartlett, who worked continuously on the Island for more than thirty-two years before his death in September, 1956, at the age of fifty-nine,[96] was a particularly strong and prominent figure in the community. In the case of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland, if its rhetoric at times glorified the way of life of old Newfoundland, its Bell Island experience suggests that in practice in its worldly role it could accommodate to and perhaps facilitate the workings of the new

TABLE X

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF BELL ISLAND, 1891-1951*

	Church of England	Roman Catholic	Methodist and United Church	Presbyterian	Salvation Army	Other
1891	268	441	—	—	—	—
1901	430	767	84	26	12	1
1911	908	1673	285	56	135	27
1921	1491	2220	415	45	171	15
1935	2090	3166	530	21	342	11
1945	2676	4423	672	13†	367	19
1951	3282	5700	861	11	—	437°

*Source: Newfoundland census returns;
1951 Canadian census.

†Presbyterian and Congregationalist.

°Includes Salvation Army and Jewish (16).

industrial life — at least in the short run. This adaptability was symbolized in Newfoundland as a whole by the removal of the centre of the Harbour Grace diocese from that declining town to the industrial centre of Grand Falls. Overall the church experience in Newfoundland bears many resemblances to Ryan's account of the church's reaction to the coming of industrialism in the St. Maurice Valley and the Chicoutimi-Lac St. Jean region of Quebec.

Everything considered, Bell Islanders and Newfoundland working people generally have hardly been the stuff on which present day economic nationalist dreams are made. Yet the history of resource development in Newfoundland and Labrador lends credence to some of the worst fears of those who now question the way in which economic development has proceeded — or been allowed to proceed — across mid-Canada. Bell Island's history is of particular interest in this regard since it exhibits elements that have been repeated again and again across the country through time: foreign ownership and control; dependence on external markets; a cosy relationship between a local political and economic elite and outside entrepreneurs; an easy interplay between traditional and industrial life; working class conservatism; community underdevelopment and powerlessness; and sudden and drastic changes in the demand for labour. And, of course, in the complete collapse of the Bell Island mining venture between 1959 and 1966 the spectre haunting the Canadian one industry town was made incarnate.

NOTES

[1] I am using the term "company town" here in the sense of a company economically dominated town rather than in the narrower sense of a company-owned town.

[2] R.A. Lucas, *Minetown Milltown Railtown,* (Toronto, 1971).

[3] E.R. Seary, *Place Names of the Avalon Peninsula of the Island of Newfoundland* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 64-65.

[4] Robert Hayman, *Quodlibets* (London, 1628).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660* (Toronto, 1969), p. 63.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 66, 72.

[10] J.B. Jukes, *Excursions in and about Newfoundland during the years 1839 and 1840* (London, 1842), Vol. I, p. 31.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[14] *Journal of the House of Assembly,* 1833, Appendix, p. 64.

[15] W.E. Cormack, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland in 1882,* F.A. Bruton ed. (London, 1928), p. 8.

[16] Shannon Ryan, "The Newfoundland Cod Fishery in the Nineteenth Century," unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971, p. 8.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 19.

[19] Norman Duncan, *Dr. Grenfell's Parish* (New York, 1905), pp. 13-14.

[20] Ryan, pp. 48-49.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 49.

[22] Thomas Talbot, *Newfoundland; or a letter addressed to a friend in Ireland in relation to the condition and circumstances of the island of Newfoundland* (London, 1882), pp. 13-14.

[23] Elizabeth A. Wells in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1972), vol. X, p. 538.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] L. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God, in Newfoundland* (London, 1776), p. 19.

[27] *Ibid.,*

[28] I am grateful to Professor D.G. Pitt, Department of English, Memorial University, for this information about Pratt. The "Bell Island-Cove" charge included Bell Island, Portugal Cove and Pouch Cove.

[29] Thomas J. Flynn, "The Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland", in J.R. Smallwood ed. *The Book of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1937), vol. 2, p. 275.

[30] See Jacob Parsons, "The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism 1765-1855", unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University, 1964.

[31] See Talbot, p. 34.

[32] For a survey of the history of education in Newfoundland see William B. Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Newfoundland" in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, 1970).

[33] For the history of the Orange Order in Newfoundland see Elinor Senior, "The Origin and the Political Activities of the Orange Order in Newfoundland 1863-1890," unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959; for the history of the Benevolent Irish Society, the Society of United Fishermen and the Star of the Sea Association see J.R. Smallwood, vol. 2, pp. 171-85, pp. 192-95 and pp. 196-97 respectively.

[34] Smallwood, vol. 1, p. 3.

[35] Robert A. Bartlett, *The Log of Bob Bartlett* (New York, 1928), p. 48, p. 52.

[36] *Ibid.,* p. 47

[37] *Ibid.,* pp. 52-53.

[38] Ryan, p. 20.

[39] *Ibid.,* p. 239.

[40] *Ibid.,* p. 24.

[41] *Ibid.,* p. 53.

[42] *Ibid.,* pp. 51-58.

[43] In 1910 the Newfoundland-born population in the United States numbered 5,076; by 1930 this figure had risen to 23,971 (Information supplied by Henry J. Smith, Public Information Office, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census). Addison Bown, "Newspaper History of Bell Island", contains many interesting references to the movement of outport people to and from Bell Island. This valuable compilation, originally published in the St. John's *Daily News* has been collected into two volumes at the Hunter Library, Arts and Culture Centre, St. John's. In 1906 "over 300 men were said to have deserted the mines to go fishing because of the good voyage in the previous two years" (vol. I, p. 19). In 1907 "500 men from Hr. Main district who were working on the Island were unable to get home to vote in a plebiscite on the liquor question" (vol. I, p. 22). On April 4, 1908, "forty miners left the Island . . . for their homes in Bonavista Bay to go fishing" (vol. I, p. 24). On May 7, 1909, "S.S. Southern Cross with 200 miners from Bell Island on board who were on their way home to the North Shore to vote, ran aground at Upper Island Cove and remained fast until the following day when she proceeded to Carbonear" (vol. I, p. 26).

[44] The corporate history of the mining operations to 1930 is summarized in J. Derek Green, "Miners' unions on Bell Island," unpublished B.Comm. paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1968, pp. 6-7.

[45] In 1962 this company changed its name to Hawker Siddley Canada Ltd.

[46] I am grateful to J.D.A. Widdowson of the Dictionary of Newfoundland English, Memorial University of Newfoundland, for this reference.

[47] E.E.D. Day and R.E. Pearson, "Closure of the Bell Island Iron Ore Mines," *Geography*, Vol. 52 (1967), p. 322.

[48] Bown, vol. I, p. 45; see also J. Derek Green, p. 16.

[49] J. Derek Green, p. 20.

[50] Day and Pearson, p. 322.

[51] J. Derek Green, p. 46.

[52] Day and Pearson, p. 322.

[53] For production and employment statistics for the period 1949-65 see Day and Pearson, p. 324.

[54] *Evening Telegram*, St. John's, April 20, 21, 1959.

[55] *Ibid.*, April 24, 1959.

[56] J. Derek Green, p. 9; Bown, vol. I, p. 2.

[57] Bown, vol. I, p. 5.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[59] *Ibid.* The name Wabana had been introduced as a result of the mining venture. The area of the Island it denoted was not precisely defined until local government was established in 1950. In general it was taken to mean the area around the mines.

[60] Bown, vol. I, p. 13.

[61] J. Derek Green, p. 13.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[69] The charter of this local was issued at Pittsburg on March 31, 1948.

[70] The local was numbered 264 and was certified on March 24, 1951 (Source: Department of Manpower and Industrial Relations, Government of Newfoundland). I am grateful to Mr. C.S. Rennie for this reference.

[71] The place names in use on Bell Island were also indicative of the great continuity that existed between the life of the mining town and the life of the outport world. Street names were introduced as the Island's population grew but these had to compete with the neighbourhood names preferred by outport Newfoundlanders. With few exceptions they failed to capture the popular imagination. In typical outport fashion, Bell Islanders also had a "mental map" of the territory they occupied. This was universally respected and involved conventions about direction. Thus one lived "up to the West Mines", or "down to the east end", "out to the front", or "over on the Green".

[72] Bown, vol. I, p. 31.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[75] *Ibid.*, 355 votes were cast in the election.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[80] Bown, vol. 2, p. 2.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[82] See above, p. 111.

[83] The form of the plebiscite was as follows:

BELL ISLAND
TOWN COUNCIL PLEBISCITE
ARE YOU IN FAVOUR OF PROPOSED COUNCIL?

YES: _____

NO: _____

(Source: Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Government of Newfoundland. I am grateful to Mr. Art Brown for this and the following reference.)

[84] On July 13, 1950, a petition favouring the establishment of a town council was forwarded to the provincial government by some residents of the area north of Main Brook and extending westward to No. 5 Magazine. This petition was followed by the incorporation of the Town of Wabana on August 29, 1950. (Source: Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Government of Newfoundland.)

[85] *The Consolidated Statutes of Newfoundland* [third series] (St. John's 1919), pp. 9-10; for the history of representation in the House of Assembly of Newfoundland see G.O. Rothney, "The Denominational Basis of Representation in the Newfoundland Assembly 1919-1962," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* vol. 28 (1962), pp. 557-70.

[86] *Acts of the General Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1925), p. 64.

[87] Joseph M. Greene was born in St. John's in 1890 and was the nephew of Daniel Joseph Greene, who had been Prime Minister of Newfoundland briefly in 1894-95. Greene had come to Bell Island in 1910 to work for the Dominion Iron and

Steel Company. He held the positions of Chief Cost Accountant and Assistant Chief Accountant with this company. From 1925 to 1927 he was office manager and Secretary in the firm of William J. Bishop Ltd. His society and club memberships included the following: the Star of the Sea Association, the Knights of Columbus, Dominion Boat Club, Catholic Cadet Corps, Dominion Athletic Association, see R. Hibbs, ed., *Who's Who in and from Newfoundland*, 2nd ed., (St. John's, 1930), p. 95.

[88] *Acts of the General Assembly of Newfoundland 1932* (St. John's, 1932), p. 28.

[89] In the referendum held on June 3, 1948, the result in Harbour Main-Bell Island was as follows: votes for Commission of Government — 431 (5.32%); votes for Confederation with Canada — 982 (12.12%); votes for Responsible Government — 6,690 (82.56%). In the referendum held on July 22, 1948, the result in the district was as follows: votes for Confederation with Canada — 1,431 (17.42%); votes for Responsible Government — 6,784 (82.58%). The voter turnout in the first referendum was 88.38% as compared to 89.61% in the second. In the June referendum the district ranked second among the eight districts giving a majority to Responsible Government. In the July referendum seven districts gave a majority to Responsible Government; Harbour Main-Bell Island again ranked second only to Ferryland, the most die-hard anti-Confederation district on the Island (Source: Reports of the Chief Electoral Officer).

[90] Bown, vol. 2, p. 39.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] I am grateful to Mr. Addison Bown, Mr. Sidney Bown and Mr. B.W. Tucker for information about this aspect of Island life.

[96] He studied at St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's; St. Augustine's Seminary, Toronto; Holy Heart Seminary, Halifax; and All Hallows College, Dublin. He was ordained in 1924 and came to Bell Island as a curate the same year. He was appointed administrator of the parish after the death of Dean McGrath in June, 1938. See Bown, vol. 2, p. 6, p. 72; *Evening Telegram*, September 24, 1956.